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Book Review: Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600–1870 by Sami Lakomäki

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Abstract
Kinship as a theoretical frame is slowly coming into fashion again in anthropological research. These new kinship studies diverge sharply from classic structural scholarship to explore the cultural constructions of family organization and the political implications embedded in how cultures articulate relatedness. Scholars in indigenous studies have also renewed their interest in kinship. A far cry from Lewis Henry Morgan's first tome on kin in Native communities, recent studies have explored the workings of kinship as Native people interacted with Europeans, constructing new identities in the process. While Sami Lakom¨aki's new book Gathering Together is not primarily about kinship, he could not have realized his argument without it. His scholarship emerges from what he deftly perceives to be a gap in the literature on Native nationhood—namely that most scholarship on American Indian sovereignty currently relies on European political traditions. Lakomaki calls for more research on nation-building grounded in Native history and political philosophies. His book gives us a solid model of what such scholarship should look like.

Disciplines
Indigenous Studies

Comments
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Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600–1870 by Sami Lakomäki.

The Lamar Series in Western History. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014. 344 pp.

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Kinship as a theoretical frame is slowly coming into fashion again in anthropological research. These new kinship studies diverge sharply from classic structural scholarship to explore the cultural constructions of family organization and the political implications embedded in how cultures articulate relatedness. Scholars in indigenous studies have also renewed their interest in kinship. A far cry from Lewis Henry Morgan's first tome on kin in Native communities, recent studies have explored the workings of kinship as Native people interacted with Europeans, constructing new identities in the process. While Sami Lakomäki's new book *Gathering Together* is not primarily about kinship, he could not have realized his argument without it. His scholarship emerges from what he deftly perceives to be a gap in the literature on Native nationhood—namely that most scholarship on American Indian sovereignty currently relies on European political traditions. Lakomäki calls for more research on nation-building grounded in Native history and political philosophies. His book gives us a solid model of what such scholarship should look like.

Lakomäki explores Shawnee sociopolitical constructions to understand the gradual emergence of this collective identity and its various political articulations. Beginning in the archaeological record, with Fort Ancient peoples, he carefully relates the importance of clans and kinship to changing settlement patterns, constructions of identity, and governmental formations. He rightly emphasizes that there is no moment when the Shawnee nation is invented. He argues that the eventual emergence of one people calling themselves Shawnee is a combination of creative efforts to survive during the intense disruptions of European and Euro-American colonialism and of reliance on earlier political mechanisms that had effectively governed the people in the past. Lakomäki's nuanced historical narrative accounts for the many diverse responses Shawnee people had to colonialism while attempting to understand the emergence of a more centralized Shawnee nation. He argues that more bounded concepts of both unity and homeland emerge with the new, consolidated Shawnee nation. At the same time, he recognizes the continuity between older forms of collective political identity and these emergent constructions.

Using his extensive archival research, Lakomäki demonstrates the wide variety of strategies Shawnee people used not just to survive the violence of contact and colonialism but also to assert a sense of Shawnee political autonomy. He traces both those Shawnee who used dispersal as a survival strategy and those who sought unity, asserting collective national leadership to enter the arena of Euro-American political negotiation. Yet Lakomäki consciously moves away from Richard White's *Middle Ground*, which focuses on interactions between Natives and newcomers. Instead, inspired by Kathleen DuVal's *Native Ground*, he recognizes the political ideologies within Native societies. To accomplish this, Lakomäki brings together vast documentary evidence while also carefully studies Shawnee kinship systems and their importance in shaping Shawnee politics.

Lakomäki insightfully argues that, without kinship as a theoretical frame, Native histories often seem contradictory to modern scholars. Diaspora as a political strategy appears to produce results opposite from the process of national consolidation. Furthermore, this more centralized form of political organization seems to usurp local village and clan authority. To move beyond simplistic categories of diasporic or national peoples, Lakomäki demonstrates that systems of kin in place well before contact allowed some Shawnee peoples to disperse while others worked toward national consolidation without irreversibly dividing the community. By recognizing the importance of kinship to Shawnee political articulations, he uncovers an alternative project in nation-building.

Gathering Together is essential for researchers who wish to understand indigenous political articulations on their own terms without relying on European legal traditions. While kinship has long been utilized as part of scholarly analysis of Native ethnic identity and for understanding Native–newcomer interactions during the fur trade, most recent scholarship has neglected the centrality of kinship to Native political articulations. Lakomäki's detailed exploration of Shawnee nation-building in response to the demands of Euro-American colonialism opens a new conversation about indigenous sovereignty. How did the maintenance and creation of kin ties facilitate economies and political action both within and among Native nations? How did political mechanisms based in kin change in negotiation with European political powers? If the constructions of indigenous national unity and homeland articulated by indigenous nations are not eternal as they have so often been imagined, how do we understand indigenous group identities before and during the brutal disruptions of colonialism? As Lakomäki's research indicates, if we wish to explore these questions from an indigenous perspective, kinship is a necessary theoretical frame. The author reminds us that, for Shawnee people, both nationhood and diaspora are living processes that continue to shape communal life today (p. 234). His book exemplifies scholarship that embraces such seeming contradictions to reveal that Native people continue to thrive in the midst of them, defying them to make and remake political meaning.

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Durham: Duke University Press, 2013. 216 pp.

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The rapid growth of transnational adoption that began in the 1990s helped to spark new scholarly interest, especially among anthropologists, in the movement of children across borders for adoption. Although the surge in such adoptions peaked in 2004, and the numbers have continued to decline since then, literature on transnational adoption has blossomed in the past decade.

Jessaca B. Leinaweaver's *Adoptive Migration* is a welcome addition to this literature—a body of work that addresses questions about belonging, nation, culture, and identity. Leinaweaver's distinctive project is to examine unexpected intersections between transnational adoption and international labor migration. She has found an interesting site to pursue this analysis: Spain, where the rates of both transnational adoption and labor migration soared during the same period. Adoption of children from other countries to Spain increased by a staggering 273 percent between 1998 and 2004, while labor migration also grew rapidly. Although for different reasons both kinds of population movements have declined in recent years, and the number of Peruvian adoptees and migrants in Spain is relatively small, Leinaweaver argues that small numbers are not an impediment to the analysis.

Leinaweaver's approach is to tease connections out of conversations and interactions with individuals, some of whom she has come to know well: members of adoptive families with children from Peru, and Peruvian labor migrants and their children in Spain. The author's previous fieldwork on adoption in Peru gave her a good understanding of the Peruvian context as well as personal ties and friendships that facilitated her research in Spain.

Transnational adoption has long been described as a form of involuntary migration, and recently Eleana Kim (2010:5) has offered a brilliant analysis of adult "migrations and returns" of South Korean adult adoptees to the country of their birth. Leinaweaver, arguing that juxtaposing the two phenomena reveals new insights into both, focuses on everyday experiences of adoptees, migrants, and migrants' children to explore a number of shared or overlapping themes. How is the adopted child imagined as the "ideal migrant," coming to her new family and nation "without history?" How do both migrant and adoptive parents debate and make decisions about the "best interests of the child?" What do mixed Spanish–Peruvian marriages reveal about the imperfect alignment of nationality and kinship? In each case, Leinaweaver probes the complicated ways that ideas about solidarity with Peru, Peruvians, or Peruvianness—which she glosses as "national substance"—are expressed, contested, and sometimes rejected.

Although the term *national substance* may lack resonance with discussions of adoption elsewhere in the world, many of the dilemmas, impulses, and ambivalent feelings described here will be familiar. Does the desire (supported by admonitions of adoption professionals) to "maintain roots" with the country of birth also lead to the "insistent racialization" of both adoptees and migrant laborers' children? The question "where are you from?" is not simple for either adoptive children or children of migrants.

The fact that Spanish is a shared language of both Peru and Spain does not seem to mitigate struggles around integration, as most Peruvians are easily recognized as different with their darker skin and Andean or Amazonian features. In spite of Spain's self-proclaimed indifference to race, Leinaweaver shows how both adoptees and migrants must navigate a complex web of racialized ideas and practices. This takes on a particular twist in Spain: adoptive parents encourage their children's identification with their Peruvianness while anxiously hoping that as teenagers the children will not be drawn to feared "Latin gangs." Children, Leinaweaver writes, "receive mixed messages: you are Spanish, yet you should be interested in Peru (but not so interested that you go hang out with or date Peruvian immigrants . . .)" (p. 135).

Adoptive Migration is engagingly written; Leinaweaver deftly draws in her readers as she recounts how she came to see unanticipated overlaps between adoption and labor migration. Beyond providing fine-grained case studies of Peruvians in Spain, the book should provoke scholars of both adoption and migration to think more deeply about the intersections of adoption and migration elsewhere in the world. How different would the analysis look in countries where immigrant communities are long established and more diverse in terms of class and culture? In the United States, for example, white parents of adopted Chinese children may